1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

633
X539

TELEGRAPH WIRES

19. Westward is an iron road
Above it iron stretches;
Humming, it stretches.(12)

DISTANT TRAIN

20. Telmot Mountain!
Telmot Mountain!
Up there, on the edge I lie,
Everywhere looking.
Far yonder, toward me,
A burning feather headdress
Upon me shines.(12)

THE BLENDING WITH CHRISTIANITY

1917 1794 Ever since the late seventeenth century, there have been Papago who were properly baptized Roman Catholics. Yet there was never a church in desert country until after the arrival of American priests in 1909. For over two hundred years, then, the contacts of the Desert People with organized Christianity have been intermittent and mostly of their own choosing. The result is some versions of Catholic ceremony which are of their own devising, but are cherished to this day.

1797 The first baptisms in Papago country were made by Father Kino, the famous Jesuit missionary who labored among the Pimans from 1687 to 1711. Kino established a string of missions in what is now Sonora, with only two north of the present international border. These were San Gabriel, at the village of Guevavi (later moved to Tumacacori), and San Xavier, at the village of Bac (Papago, *wahk*, the hollow place). Their site, in the fertile valley of the Santa Cruz, is now occupied by Tucson and other towns. It was then the home of the Soba Jipuri, a branch of the Pimans which has become almost extinct.[1] Kino was particularly impressed with the agriculturists of this valley, and he stocked their missions well with grain and cattle. Probably, too, he gave them the standard organization for a mission church, with native soc-

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 15–17.

1: Underhill E-4 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

up the Sonora missions, owing to poverty and the Apache raids. They concentrated on the two just above the Arizona border, Tumacacori and Bac.

These big irrigated villages had been, so far, occupied by the Soba Jipuri, a people of somewhat different culture from the Papago, though of Piman speech.[1] There is no telling how much contact there had been, for these valleys were well within reach of the roving Papago. Now, during the late eighteenth century, the Apache raids grew more menacing; the Soba Jipuri villages broke up, and the Papago, who had less to lose, seeped in to occupy the land. Finally a smallpox epidemic practically wiped out the Soba Jipuri, and Bac, with its Franciscan church of San Xavier, became a village of the northern Papago.

At last the Desert People had a chance for continuous church membership, though Bac was not in their own country and most of them only stayed there for part of the year. Some took part in the church organization, and even today they install church officers at New Year's with the ancient ceremony first established in New Spain. When the Franciscans, too, left the missions, during the Mexican war of independence (1821–23), the Papago saved the church vessels and the holy images by burying them in the desert, just as they did with their own metates when they moved camp. They still tell legends of how the images called to them from underground when it was time to recover them.

Even the Papago inhabitants of Bac went back to the desert for part of the year, and they still retain their village affiliations with Archie and Akchin. The other Papago remained aloof from the churches, merely making their occasional trips "to get names." For this purpose they often chose Mexico, rather than the nearer Bac, for they could combine the journey with a winter of paid work for Mexicans or acculturated Indians. Kino's plans for indoctrination had not worked out, but the Papago did begin to acquire some fragments of Christian ritual in the course of their visits. Living in some household of Hispanicized Indians, they could learn a few prayers, hear saint stories, and acquire a crucifix without any of the attendant discipline. The crucifix early

[1] See Underhill, 1939, pp. 15–17.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

achieved status as a fetish, and the writer has known shamans to prescribe it. The same is true of prayers. In a case of epilepsy, which was, perhaps, an unfamiliar disease, the diagnostician did not call for guardian spirit songs in the usual manner, but, instead, ordered the women to sing the Rosary.

There was little attempt to reconcile the Papago and Christian theologies, although some very modern Papago now speak of I'itoi as the Papago Christ. The important supernatural adopted from the new religion was the devil. One remembers the position of this character in Spanish folklore, where he often appears, not as a dignified arch fiend, but as a coyote-like character who is always being worsted. The *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*) as described by the Papago, is a being of this type, gay, silly, and even kindly. He is not unlike the Papago guardian spirit, nor is he foreign to the scalp mannikins, dirty and mischievous little spirits who drive people mad with love.

We hear echoes of the scalp mannikins in the plaint of one girl who had been married to the devil in a dream. "Do not sing for me," she said to the people who came to cure her. "Only those can be free of the devil who wish to be free, and I have been married a long time." She described her supernatural spouse as old and bearded, dressed in white man's clothes and owning a car. Nightly he took her in it through the mountains and showed her the piles of unmined gold and silver. Her obsession has reminders of the scalp mannikin legend and also of the snake, who marries young people, making them neglectful of human love. A gayer vision of the devil was that of a young man who danced nightly on the mountains with devil boys and devil girls.

To another, the devil came quite in the guise of a guardian spirit. He looked "like a Mexican, with yellow face and black moustaches."(12) He appeared riding a horse, at the head of a cavalcade of devils, all singing. This arrival, announced by a song, is typical of the guardian spirits. Commonly the song is used for curing a disease sent by the spirit itself. In this case the song cured ailments of horses or the "horse disease" in humans. The linking of the white man's animal with the white man's supernatural seems very logical. Perhaps, had the Papago been left un-

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The Indians always saved a little money for candles and holy 794 1777
relics. It was the possession of these, say the present-day Papago, which led to the building of the little "Sonora" churches dotted over the reservation. These are managed by the Indians themselves, without a priest, and the official church organization refers to them as unaffiliated. It is hard to establish the date when the first one was built, but a middle-aged Santa Rosa woman insists that they go no farther back than her own grandmother. This grandmother was a *sénat* (señorita) who married into a family of northern Papago, while they were wintering in Mexico. She returned with them to Papagueria, was surprised at their lack of churches, and suggested that her family build one to house their holy relics. They put up a one-room adobe house, in the Papago style, but added a stuccoed false front to imitate the façade of a Mexican church. The form became standardized, and now the reservation has some hundreds of these miniature sanctuaries, appealing as a drawing on a child's slate.

Each is sponsored by a patriarchal family, with those of its connections who are friendly and live nearby. This is just the sort of unit which used to prepare new fields or found a village. Two of their number are chosen head men and seem to take the place of the two *fiscales* prescribed in Spanish colonial organization. These see to the upkeep of the building and organize the feasts, collecting food from the members and assigning duties. No priest attends, and some churches will not allow one unless, perchance, he comes from Sonora. The service consists of the chanting of a few series of prayers, such as the Rosary and the Benediction. Almost always the officiant is a woman. Perhaps this is due to the first *señorita*, who offered to lead her adopted family in the Ave Maria and the Pater Noster. It was an innovation for the Papago, whose pagan ritual was entirely in the hands of men, but doubtless they had seen the predominantly feminine congregations of Mexican churches. They say, as many Latins do, that it is women who have time to learn the prayers; yet in turning over this function to females, they have kept as close as possible to their old ritual pattern. The woman officiant belongs to the lineage of the "head man" and is usually his sister or daughter. She passes her lore down to a daughter or a niece.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

994 The Sonora churches have no regular Sunday services. The 199 dates celebrated are Christmas, Easter, All Souls' Day, and one or two saints' days. Supposedly the festival celebrated is that of the patron saint, but few Papago are clear on this. In their minds all the chapels are dedicated to San Francisco Xavier, whose photographs crowd the walls. This picture shows the effigy found in so many Jesuit churches, representing the saint, clad in his bishop's robes and lying upon his tomb, as he does in his own mission church at Macao in the South Seas. No step in acculturation could [961] be more drastic than this cult of a dead man, by the Papago, who fear the dead and taboo their names. To the writer, it seems possible that they never grasped the fact that the pictures do represent a sarcophagus.

x796 For a week before a feast day all the related families who 199 "own" the church work hard. The men clear the grounds and 478 repair the adobe building. They straighten the wooden cross which stands opposite the door some forty or fifty yards away. They clean off the dance ground, a flat space of gravel between cross and church. Generally this has over and around it an arrangement of poles and cross pieces like the skeleton of a tent, and these are decorated with paper pennants in various colors. In the feast house, an adobe building next door with a huge outdoor kitchen, the earthen ovens are cleaned, and wood is brought for fires.

The women clean the inside of the church, dusting the photographs, laying clean cloths on the altar, and perhaps making a new saint's bed of silk and lace. On the earthen floor they lay canvas. Then the most skillful ones sit down to make crepe paper flowers to decorate altar and outdoor cross. Others clean the kitchen and the big wooden tables in the feast house, where the whole village will be asked to dine. The group of owner families has been assessed for meat, beans, and canned goods. Toward the end of the week all the women gather at the feast house and spell each other in baking bread.

x796 At twilight on the eve of the feast day dinner is served to all 199 comers. The two head men take turns acting as major domo, the women cook, the young men wait at table, the girls help in the

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

kitchen. Several beeves are consumed on such an occasion, and 796x
a hundredweight of bread. After dark there may be a service in 177
the church led by the woman officiant, and here the scene is outstandingly Mexican. Women crowd in and kneel in the tiny space, while the men stand outside.

After the service, the whole congregation forms a procession, like that to be seen in so many Mexican towns. The head man carries the saint's image, and perhaps two acolytes hold an arch of paper flowers over his head. Behind him comes an orchestra [533]
of guitar and two violins, which may cost the church owners twenty-five dollars a night. Then comes the congregation, men first, women following. They march to the cross, which the head man circles, while the followers turn about face, and then they return to the church where all leave contributions in the clay bank on the altar.

After this, comes the dancing. The orchestra takes its place in a booth, and the men make a fire if the night is cold. Old people, [535]
young people, and children dance a sort of polka. The Papago know that this dance was brought from Mexico, but they still observe some of their own rules. Girls dance with girls and boys [576]
with boys. Respectable women dance only with their husbands. The dance ground contains as many small children as adults.

In the dark, at the outskirts of the dance ground, drinking goes 796x
on. So does lovemaking. Both these relaxations were a part of 177
the old rainmaking ceremony, and a few years ago the drink 786
served at church fiestas was the native cactus beer. At present it is 273
hard liquor brought in by bootleggers, and drunkenness is sometimes extreme. This change is hard to assess exactly, for the very same thing has gone on in Mexico. Many Sonora Indians, like the Papago, practiced ceremonial drinking and have now transferred the custom to Christian feasts. The Papago may have copied their Mexican neighbors, or the change to a near orgy may have been a parallel development with all. Certainly when people begin to revive on Sunday afternoon (the dancing goes on throughout Saturday night), there are usually some serious injuries to be found and occasionally a death.

These unaffiliated churches may have been developing at the 794
177

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

every time when Franciscan missionaries again reached Papagueria, in the years after 1909. The Brothers Minor now have four missionary churches, including their old post at San Xavier and three in the desert. Their visiting priests reach many of the villages, and slowly they are working to bring the unaffiliated churches into line. It is not uncommon for people to attend services of both branches and sometimes of the Presbyterians as well.

The Franciscans found another form of Christian ceremony already established, principally among the southern villages which have direct access to Mexico. This was the sacred dance, with clowning, encouraged by the early missionaries as a means of dramatizing Christian tenets for their savage converts. Unlike the "Sonora" festivals, it was carried on under the direct auspices of the church, and it is so still. Exhaustive studies have been made of this kind of mummers' play among Yaqui and Mayo.[4] With these Mexican groups, as with the eastern pueblos, the celebration takes place at Easter and often includes a dance by men in non-Indian dress known as the *fariseos* (pharisees). Echoes of this custom appear among the "Easter devils" at Kavorik, on the Papago reservation.

Kavorik (Cowlic of the whites) is a town near the Mexican border which has recently received direct immigration from Caborca. It has a churchly organization on the Spanish mission style, and during Passion Week, a churchly celebration unknown among other Papago. During the whole week there are antics by masked men known usually as *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*). However, informants also used the term *fariseos* and also *Navitcu*, the Papago clown of the prayer-stick festival.[5] The mask is not that of Navitcu, for instead of being a simple deerskin bag it represents a horned animal, and it may be of calfskin. Still, it is made in the regular ceremonial style, by an old man whose function is hereditary. The impersonators also carry a long cactus stick, as Navitcu does and must pledge themselves, as he does, to serve for four successive years. Also like him, they do not speak but utter cries in the *kachina* manner. There may be twenty impersonators—some wearing masks of deerskin, some of calfskin, and some of peccary. The

[4] Parsons, 1934.

[5] Underhill, 1934, pp. 415–17.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The Protestant services held on the reservation show no such blending of Christian with pagan, for the Protestants demand a complete break. Only one sect is present in Papagueria, the Presbyterians. They have had missionaries at work since before the reservation was established and have now three or four churches, with native missionaries. This sober sect, lacking in the pageantry of Catholicism, nevertheless fits at some points into the Papago pattern. The Papago, from their very poverty, could not indulge in pageantry to the extent common in the Pueblos and it may be that they did not feel such necessity for ceremonial display in a new religion. On the other hand, they were used to a council meeting in which elder after elder delivered a speech of admonition, exhorting all to adhere to the Papago moral law. The procedure of a Protestant prayer meeting is highly sympathetic to such people.

A further appeal is made by the singing. The native missionaries are taught, as part of their training, to play the piano and to perform part singing, and they make a point of teaching hymns to their congregations. The hymns used are modern ones, with lively choruses, and in these the Papago delight. They are enchanted with the part singing, which is new to them, and will croon over a bass part for hours, as they once did their ceremonial songs. The various rural churches compete in singing at their yearly camp meeting, and the feeling of rivalry then aroused is a little like that at the old intervillage games.

At present every Papago, except the very old, has some church affiliation. Some attend all services occasionally, while also patronizing the shaman. Still, acculturation is proceeding so fast that this nondescript stage can hardly endure. The different areas show signs of settling down to permanent allegiance, mostly dictated, as Papago economics are, by family affiliation.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

621 Their native government, as far as it persists is modelled on the Spanish colonial regime with a secular governor and a whipping [784] post to punish transgressors. They all profess Christianity, the majority Catholic but a fair number of Presbyterians. None of the old ceremonies are now held but a few have been amalgamated [177] with Catholic ceremonies to form a new ritual.

621 184 The Kokololoti and the Archie division are the two most completely at odds in traditions and customs and political splits are most likely to occur along their geographic lines. Among Tecalote people the maam and waaliw sibs predominate, but there are also many of that nondescript sib, the ókari who do not know their moiety and are accused of being no sib at all but a catchall for scattered people whose sib was lost.

Kokololoti Village Units

621 Kupk (Closed, referring to a dam)

This and the other villages of the dialect division occupy the broad Quijotoa Valley, known in Spanish accounts as the Llano, or plain. The Papago name for the area is komaki wihtco, (Under the Gray Mountain) which the Spaniards wrote El Comac. Kupk, the parent town, has shrunk and the prominent place is now taken by Pisinimo, whose name is said to come from the fact that a Bison head was once brought there. This would have meant importation from a great distance and the only possible agents are the Apache but the legend is vague.

Pisinimo has as daughters hahri mihītak (Burnt Squash) and Cheeweeton (Long Pond), and Mulberry Pond or Santa Cruz. The Well for all four is Poso Blanco, while Kupk still uses San Antone.

Another recent offshoot of Kupk is Kavolik or Cowlic. This was originally not a field but a mesquite grove. Some families moved there from kupk and others from its relative, Tecalote. Another group of immigrants came direct from Mexico bringing with them Mexican ideas of government and housing. They wanted a plaza, with houses in regular rows and the Mexicanized Catholic ceremonies so familiar in Sonora. [184] They live together in a group and engineer the Easter ceremony which is unique among the Papagos but otherwise have not converted the village to their views. Kavorik has a daughter, Burro Pond, and a smaller one upat kihk, Acacia Stands, which uses a Well in the mountains south of Sells.

Tecalote

This village, near the border, is in the same broad north-and-south plain with Pisinimo. The plain extends south into Mexico where many of the wells are. In Spanish accounts it

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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that before this time the Papago had lived in rather small villages, spending the summer in the valleys where they planted and harvested their crops, in the winter returning to the mountains where the water supply was assured. As their homes were threatened, they began to abandon the small settlements and to gather together into large defense villages, building forts and terracing the hills, though they still had to follow their migratory cycle in order to exist. They had to learn to live closer together and to co-operate among themselves and between villages in fighting the night attackers. They began, too, to develop supernatural sanctions for fighting and killing the Apache, a system of beliefs and practices which was of vital importance for survival in that period. A few of these beliefs still remain. 175 648

Not much is known of the Papago for a number of years after Kino's death in 1711. The Apache continued to raid. The Papago protected themselves as best they could and at the same time learned to utilize the horses and cattle they had acquired: horses simplified their transportation problem, and cattle added a source of meat. The wheat added to their food supply—when it was not burned or stolen by the enemy.

Missionaries were few in northern Sonora, for the life and problems were difficult. For about thirty years the Papago saw no priest, though work was revived along the Santa Cruz and the missions of San Gabriel de Guébavi and San Xavier del Bac were refounded in 1732. In 1736 Father Sedelmayr went to Tubatama. He wrote that many Papago came to work for him, reconstructing the old missions; they were nothing but skin and bones when they arrived, but they left "fat and instructed." This Father made two trips through the Papago country. In 1752 there was an uprising of the Lower Pima and southern Papago against the Spanish. It was blobdy but short-lived, and thereafter the Indians were not so docile or so friendly toward the whites. 175 797

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans took up their work. Between 1769 and 1774 Father Garces made three trips to the desert, recommending the founding of two missions. One stone-and-mud chapel was built east of the Santa Rosa Mountains, and the Father from San Xavier visited there infrequently prior to 1827.

It is possible that during this period the Sonora Catholic church, a sect without organization or official connection, had its beginning among the Papago. For its devotees, religion was an individual matter of owning pictures of saints and saying prayers—in short, of worshiping as well as they knew how in the Catholic way, learned from brief observation and practice. The Catholic missionary procedure is not to eradicate former religions but rather to reinterpret them. In this case, the Fathers had little opportunity even to reinterpret, 175 794

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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●794 and elements of Catholicism were incorporated by the people themselves into the whole set of existing religious and ceremonial practices.

175 In addition to domestic animals and crops, which permitted an easier existence in the desert, and a brief glimpse of the Catholic religion, the Papago took from the whites during this period two social institutions, the governor and the whipping post.[10] It is probable that the Papago villages had had headmen before the arrival of the Spaniards, and they certainly had ceremonial leaders, but concentration of power in one official as the Spaniards knew it was alien to Papago character; hence the appointed governors had little power. Whippings were administered as often for violations of Papago ceremonial tradition as for offenses against Spanish law. In any case, the basic institutions of the Papago—the family and the village—were untouched by anything introduced from Spain.

It was the thirty years of revolution which culminated in Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, rather than direct Spanish social influence, that brought about the farthest reaching changes in the Desert People. In the southern part of the present Reservation area, these years, as Underhill remarks, "involved as much change for the Papago as the century preceding. There was skirmishing in Papago country; Papagos were given guns, horses and food for their help against counter revolutionists and against the Apache; Papago villages were broken up and there was racial intermixture. This affected only the south of the area, part of which is now in Mexico. But where it occurred, it was a potent factor in breaking up residence, causing the loss of clan affiliations and even of clan names and the abandonment of ceremonies because there were no longer villages to conduct them. It seems to have been at this period that the southerners began to build Mexican houses of wattle and daub."[11]

[211] In the northern part of Papaguería there was not much change until contacts with Americans began. On a calendar stick[12] is mentioned a "war with Mexicans" in 1842[13] and several raids by Apache, but the Gadsden Purchase in 1854 went almost unnoticed, the Indians scarcely realizing that their land was being cut through by a border survey. For almost two decades they were largely unaware that they had officially become "Americans."

10. This paragraph and the following are largely from Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 201 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

12. A narrow stick, a yard or more long, on which are carved geometric designs to remind the owner of specific events. Usually one outstanding event of each year is recorded, but some years are not represented. The stick referred to here was recorded by Mrs. L. C. Bennett from a man at Covered Wells, who inherited it and its story from his grandfather.

13. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, p. 639.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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DIVERSE CREEDS

THE OLD AND THE NEW

All the Sonora Catholics adhere to aboriginal beliefs. *Santos* are buried with the dead as food and clothing were in the old days. San Francisco and the rain spirits, Spanish prayers and the medicine man's eagle feather, are believed equally efficacious in bringing rain. During one severe drought, a medicine man decided that the cause lay in the inadequate care of *santos* which had been interred when their owner had died. So the medicine man directed certain women to retrieve the sacred pictures and bring them to the church, where a circle dance would be held. As the women were returning with the *santos*, a great storm broke. Thenceforth, these *santos* were kept in a shrine; they are pictures of San Francisco.

At another place on the Reservation, the women sought to end a drought by walking through the fields with their *santos* and singing Spanish hymns. This they did for four days. The rain came on the fourth day.

Thus the old and the new exist side by side or are inextricably blended. The Papago uses every means at his disposal to bring rain; he summons every power for good of which he knows to bring good luck and good health. Perhaps one or another of these powers is responsible; it does not matter, for the Papago has done what he could.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM

When the Franciscans renewed Catholic missionary activities among the Papago early in the twentieth century, most of the Indians were Sonora Catholics. To the priests these people were hardly Catholics at all; their faith, the priests said, was a "religion of externals," of whose real meaning they were unaware.

In the southeastern, central, and extreme northern parts of the Reservation the Franciscans began to teach the Roman creed, to introduce the Mass and other sacraments, and to make the Papago "good Catholics." At about twenty villages there are now Roman Catholic churches (see Map I), and many Papago have been baptized, attend Mass, and send their children to one of the five mission schools on the main Reservation.

In the western districts the Franciscans have made little headway, and most of the people remain Sonora Catholics. Here the first converts were made about 1929, when a few children were baptized, and in the following years priests came now and then to draw more of the people into the fold. Some of the converts, however, reverted to the Sonora faith after a difference with the priests, who have since referred to them with grave disapproval as "Montezumas." In 1941 one Franciscan began to make regular trips to the west to

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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794 celebrate Mass for the remaining Roman Catholic families, but no permanent
797 mission or school has ever been set up.

To the casual observer the Roman Catholic Papago appear not very different from their Sonora Catholic neighbors. Obvious differences are that the Roman Catholics go to Mass, are sometimes married in the church, and know some Latin prayers and songs. They try to have their children baptized and often send them to the mission schools.

Roman Catholic fiestas are like the Sonoran, except that the priest approves the day and puts in an appearance. The priests have discouraged the annual pilgrimage to Magdalena, but some Roman Catholic families still go. They also observe the year of mourning and set out their tables for the dead on All Souls' Day. They too seek supernatural aid in bringing rain, and Masses are sometimes said for this purpose.

Personal relations between members of the two groups are undisturbed by differences in belief. Roman Catholic parents may wish to have Sonora Catholic friends as godparents for their children.[12] Since the Roman church requires that the sponsors themselves be persons who have been baptized, the ceremony cannot be performed by a priest, but many parents are untroubled by this situation and quite content to have the godparents apply the holy water. Others have a Roman Catholic couple as sponsors and ask Sonora Catholic friends to officiate at a second ceremony. This easy adaptation of a foreign institution
[177] to suit their own circumstances is characteristic of the Papago.

Like the Sonorans, the Roman Catholics combine the old religion with the new. As has been previously pointed out, the priests have been less concerned with wiping out the old religion than have the Protestant missionaries, but they try to wean their people away from these "superstitions." One priest compares them with the belief in banshees and leprechauns, which, however, are real beings to many devout Catholics of Ireland. The mission schools taught by the Sisters of St. Francis have been important in spreading Roman Catholic doctrine and in combating the old beliefs by raising doubts in the students' minds.[13] Some "good Catholics" go to the wine ceremonies. Most consult the medicine men, and a few are themselves medicine men or singers.

794 However, the priests are not so tolerant of other magical practices. Recently
797 a non-Papago faith healer came to Topawa, claiming to perform miracles of
756 healing. Hundreds of the Papago flocked to camp near her headquarters and waited several days for an audience. Papago informants, attributing to the

12. The reader will recall from chapter iv that the godparents are a part of the extended family and have social as well as religious functions.

13. Other aspects of these schools are discussed in the following chapter.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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healer their own philosophy, said that a few sick people were cured and that "they might stay cured if they kept doing what she told them: being kind to animals, never getting angry, being good to people." White informants said that the healer tied pictures or printed prayers to the afflicted parts and claimed that her prayers would make them well. Both whites and Indians pointed out that the healer and the trader near whose store she held forth made a good deal of money. The priests in great indignation closed the doors of the church on the Sunday the healer was in town and threatened to excommunicate those who consulted her. No one but God, they are reported to have said, could perform miracles in Topawa.

The attitude of the Papago toward the Catholic clergy varies. In the western districts many of the Sonorans—and particularly the "Montezumas"—look upon them as people who are trying to upset Papago tradition, possibly as just another group of "Milikans" attempting to force an alien culture upon the Desert People. In the vicinity of the Franciscan missions, the priests have often been a considerable help to the people in practical ways. Some of them are friendly persons who have learned the Papago language and want to know their parishioners well. But many Papago still look upon them with a certain mistrust, and others feel that the clergy are too far removed from them in social and religious standing for intimacy and complete confidence. The people are also quick to point out any seeming neglect of priestly duties. However, there is little bitter antipathy to the priests; by all exept the intransigents of the West, they are considered part of the present scene. From them, as from other representatives of white culture, one takes orders when necessary and help when it is offered. But one's family and native social setting are at most times far more important.

PRESBYTERIANISM

The approach of the Presbyterian missionaries has been very different from that of the Franciscans. The Presbyterians have more systematically used Indians and the Indian tongue in spreading their gospel. In their four churches —at Sells, San Miguel,[14] Vamori, and Topawa, all in the southeastern part of the Reservation—Indians serve as ministers, and an Indian missionary is stationed in Gu Achi. Four of these Indians are Pima, and the other is Papago, but all conduct services in the Papago language. The congregations are governed by elected "elders," who are Papago. The Presbyterians have also capitalized upon the Papago love of music and lay emphasis on congregational

14. The church at San Miguel is also attended by the Presbyterians of the neighboring village, Chuulic.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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794 797 singing of hymns (in English) and on special anthems by the choir. The annual camp meeting at Sells, when Presbyterians come from other villages to spend a week or so camping near the church, attending services, and visiting with relatives, is somewhat in the tradition of the old intervillage activities.

Otherwise Presbyterian teachings have run counter in many ways to the Papago way of living. The old native beliefs are condemned as wicked superstitions. The use of alcohol and tobacco is officially prohibited to members, and dancing is banned. In short, the Papago are urged to live according to the moral code that prevailed in many American small towns a generation ago.

In the face of these attacks on their old and well-integrated culture, why did Papago embrace the new faith? The Desert People had already had a good many contacts with American culture, and some Papago felt that they could not remain static but must change with the changing times. One of the desirable changes was schooling for children, and the Presbyterian school near Tucson was one of the first available to Papago. The children usually came back active Presbyterians and became leaders in their communities.

The Papago themselves give various reasons why Presbyterianism appealed to them. Some found the preaching clear in contrast to the mystery of Catholic ritual and Latin hymns and prayers. Others liked the "strictness" of the religion. Many enjoyed hymn-singing and the social side of gathering for camp meetings (and undoubtedly the emotional release in public confession).[15] The use of Indians as preachers appealed to some Papago, for they like to receive guidance from their own people. They appreciated the chances to help run church affairs as elders and members of committees rather than having church government the concern of white outsiders only. Many say that they were made to feel that Presbyterianism stood for "progress" and "enlightenment," for good schools and hospitals as well as a new faith.

794 797 578 Whatever the reasons, many individuals in the five villages accepted the new faith. Contrary to the old pattern, this change was not always made by whole families, and group solidarity was badly shaken. Nearly twenty years of bitterness followed. Families were split when some brothers and sisters retained the old faith and others accepted the new. Since becoming a Presbyterian was in itself a condemnation of many of the old ways—the ceremonies, the medicine men's rites, Indian marriage customs, drinking, and dancing—resentment followed, and the air was charged with bitter quarrels. The schism spread from the family to all aspects of life. Economic and political co-operation became almost impossible.

Finally in 1929 the air was cleared in a battle over Agency policies, when

[673] 15. The sins usually confessed are, interestingly enough, neglect or bad treatment of relatives.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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quarrels over religion were overshadowed and people took sides without reference to creed (see chap. vii). During the past decade the bitterness has died down, for Protestants and Catholics have found that they must work together if the tribe is to better its status. The Presbyterians are seeing the necessity for more tolerance of the old culture. Some are again visiting the medicine men; some set out their tables for the dead in November. The younger generation of Presbyterians is not so defensive, although, as we shall see in chapter xviii, the new faith has not been without influence on the personalities of the children. The two groups are beginning to attend each other's ceremonies, and, more important, family relationships are improving. Trouble still flares up occasionally, but the fact that family ties and obligations have reasserted themselves speaks for the underlying strength of these relationships. Even white leaders of the two churches are beginning to feel that the Reservation is big enough so that everyone can get along.

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The actual number of Presbyterians is smaller than the effects of the new faith might lead one to expect, for only in five villages are there Presbyterian congregations. No new churches have been built since 1920, and there is only one school—at San Miguel. In the year of this study there were no Presbyterians west of Gu Achi (in the center of the Reservation), and no missionary work had been attempted in the western districts.

Though the number of Presbyterians is relatively small, it includes many men who can take leadership in the Papago world where it meets the white world (as in the tribal council) and men who, according to white standards, are capable of holding jobs. Several reasons have been suggested for this high proportion of leaders: that the Presbyterians learn English better through the English hymns which are so important in church ceremonies; that they realize more clearly the benefits of education and are more persistent in their efforts to attain it; that Roman Catholic children are handicapped by the training offered in the mission schools; that the Agency gives unconscious preference to Protestants in hiring employees; that the southeastern part of the Reservation where Presbyterians live has had longest contacts with whites and thus is more acculturated. There is probably truth in all these contentions. In the past, Presbyterian children have seemed the most anxious for higher education and have gone off the Reservation for it; perhaps this accounts for their greater employability. The Catholic schools were poor, but their reorganization in the thirties has improved them. Likely the real reason for the high proportion of Presbyterian leaders is a combination of all these factors, with the probability that it was the more aggressive individuals, dissatisfied with the old ways, who adopted the new, not only in religion but in education, economics, and politics as well.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

THE CHILD AND THE CHURCH

The Papago child of five to ten participates in church services chiefly as a listener. Among both Sonora and Roman Catholics, small children carry candles and *santos* in the religious processions which precede the dancing at fiestas, but this requires no special training.

Sonora Catholic children accompany the older women of the household to the church when they go once a week to burn candles, sing, and pray, but the youngsters play outside the church most of the time and come in only occasionally to listen or to sleep. Little girls try to sing the Spanish hymns, and frequently they have learned a few by the time they are ten years old. The boys come to the church less often as they grow older, and they seldom learn hymns.

Roman Catholic children in the western districts see a priest only once or twice a year, when he comes to say Mass and to proselytize. Since the missionary wishes to establish good relations in order to facilitate his work, he is friendly and informal with both children and adults; he may even help the family harvest a crop or do some other farm work. Between his visits, the Roman Catholics of Hickiwan District conduct their own services in the same manner as their Sonora Catholic neighbors, and the children have the same unimportant roles.

In the eastern districts, where there are Roman Catholic churches and priests to conduct services regularly, children go to Mass with their parents. When they are about nine or ten, they begin going to confession. A few youngsters serve as altar boys and spend a good deal of time in services or instruction. Priests maintain a rather formal relationship with their parishioners, and children seldom are on familiar terms with them; the sisters teaching in the mission schools are also rather distant in their attitude toward the children.

Children of Presbyterian families go with the adults to church. Although taking no part in the service, they sit quietly and appear attentive to the preacher. They like to go with their families to the annual camp meeting at Sells, where they can be with other children and enjoy the music and emotional fervor of the revival.

THE CHILD'S HORIZON WIDENS

When the child is between five and ten, his horizon widens greatly. If he goes to school, he meets children from other villages, and at the fiestas he sees relatives of all ages who live in near-by communities. Since the western villages are smaller and fewer and fiestas draw crowds from greater distances than in the East, the western child comes to know (if only by sight) nearly

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

461 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash
794 to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for
796 earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one or another, or all three.

795 Although several denominations have gained a foot-
184 hold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. [797] There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

484 From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come
788 the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwsk
782 at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have
755 very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure
796 illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health.
[796] Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The
[798] Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.